1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

423 622 [422] primary right to it, not because it was regarded as owning the land itself, but by reason of prior occupation and use. The individual owned his house, his plantations of taro and paper mulberry, his breadfruit, coconut and banana trees, and the pigs and chickens that ran about his house. Land which no one had occupied or used was free.

Stewart's account of the information he received on Nuku Hiva would indicate a more formal institution of private ownership than I was led to believe existed. He says (26, p. 253):

> All the land, with the growth upon it, is hereditarily possessed by the higher orders, civil and religious, the chiefs, warriors, prophets, priests, and their assistants, the boundaries of the respective domains of each being accurately defined and well known.

The account of several incidents that occurred in the valley of Atu Ona on Hiva Oa, given to me by Mr. Linton, furnishes some of the best evidence I have of the absolute ownership of property by chiefs and the ability on the part of a chief to do with land what pleased him:

> A chief named Punitoa owned the foot of Atu Ona valley and the *tohua* [feast place] of Pekia. It was necessary for the up-valley people to ask his permission when they wanted to fish. Two pregnant women who lived at the head of the valley asked their husbands to get a certain kind of small fish for them. One of the husbands went down to the sea by way of Caledonia point, avoiding the village and not asking the chief's permission. The other went to the chief's house and, it being the middle of the night, awakened him to ask permission to fish, explaining the circumstances. The chief was so pleased at the courtesy that he said: "Bring your wife here and I will give the child all my land." Pekia thus became the property of the child.
>
> Pekia at one time belonged to a chief named Puatautau. The chief was an old man, and his two sons neglected him. They would go fishing and not bring him anything when they got back, giving it all to the young women. There was a poor man in the valley who used to bring the chief food regularly, giving him the best he had. At last one day, the chief said to him: "Tomorrow morning early dress in your best clothes and come to Puatahi." (Apparently the name of the *paepae* of the chief's house, connected with the *tohua*.) The commoner did as he was told and came at dawn. The chief had climbed to Pou Au, and from there he called to the commoner: "Come up a little." The commoner climbed for a while and slipped. The chief called again: "Come up a little. Come up until I can see you." The commoner then climbed until the chief could see him. Then the chief said: "From here to the sea is *Topekia* (name of the chief's head). I give it all to you." The chief then left and went to Hana Menu. His sons, who had been disowned, were very angry and went to see him, asking him why he had given the land away. The ex-chief said he had given it as *ka'oha* (gift) for the food the commoner had given him day after day. After that the poor man was chief, and the former chief's sons were commoners. A similar incident is said to have happened in Hana Menu.

● [764] An incident in the legend of Ono furnishes evidence that the skullpit, which was the central feature of the *me'ae* of the chief, the depository of

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the skulls of his ancestors, represented his ownership of the land on which the *me'ae* stood. Ono has an argument with a chief on Moho Tani as to who has the prior right to the land. Finally Ono proves his claim to priority by demonstrating that he has a skull buried below those of the other chief in the local sacred place.

Just as the land itself was regarded as belonging to the chief, so that which lived or grew on it was his property. Garcia (14, p. 52) gives an example of a war precipitated, in times subsequent to European advent, by one chief's or tribe's stealing goats living on the land of another. The first share of the fruits of the land went to the chief. The breadfruit was partly for his own consumption and that of his family, guests, and retainers; but it was very largely also for storage in the great tribal *ma* pits as precaution against famine time, when the tribe was fed from these pits maintained by the chief. The first part of the catch of fish also went to the chief, and the rest he divided among the different classes that made up his tribe.

The feast places, the temples, the warriors' house, the sacred place of fishermen—indeed all the structures and sites that might be called public or civic—were definitely regarded as the private property of the chief. It has already been said that the feast-place, the warriors' house, and the temple, all of which were near, were with the private houses of the chief and his family actually a part of one establishment. These constituted, so to speak, a civic center for the tribe or community. Just as the public structures and sites belonged to the chief, so also did the canoes used in war and in fishing, and the nets used in fishing.

Temporary restrictions (kahui)

The *kahui*, or *ahui*, was a restriction or prohibition which owners had the right to put on produce of land in which they had vested interests. A chief, being regarded as owner of the tribal land as a whole, was able to lay such restriction on all the land or on particular crops when it was necessary. This was done before or in preparation for great festivals when much food was consumed, and after such festivals when the food supply had been exhausted. Thus, when necessary, the chief would place the *kahui* on fresh breadfruit, or on taro, or on coconuts, or on pigs, or on all of them if need be.

The *kahui* was announced by the chief's administrative tuhuna, and was enforced by them, and also by the fear of the evil consequences that would result from the infringement of a regulation which had received supernatural sanction because of some rite performed at the tribal temple. I was unable to obtain from informants any description of these rites.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

place set apart for *tapu* individuals. The space behind the bed, between the back log and the rear wall, was, according to Garcia (14, p. 127), sacred, a place for the gods, and the place where inmates spat (spittle being safe from evil doers here). Bundles of clothing and other articles were slung up to the ridgepole with cords (23, p. 89), and valuables were suspended in baskets in the same manner, the cord sustaining them being passed through a coconut shell to prevent rats from climbing it (24, p. 113). The upper surface of the joist supporting the front eaves of the house served as a shelf, on which small articles were put. Articles were also hung from the small supports that ran horizontally along the inside of the rear wall. Early visitors describe the way in which weapons, utensils, stilts, adzes, drums, skulls, and other things were hung on the walls (16, pp. 159-60; 19, p. 129). Small wooden chests *(tifa, umete)* served as containers of articles of value. Garcia (14, p. 129) and Krusenstern (16. pp. 159-60) describe, in one end of the houses of the wealthy, a small partition of bamboo to protect such sacred objects as the bier of a recently deceased ancestor. A part of the interior furnishings of a sleeping house was frequently an empty coffin, waiting for the body of its still living owner or a coffin containing a corpse slung up under the ridge pole. Lower jaws of hogs were observed projecting from beneath the front eaves of a house at Pua Ma'u, on which were formerly hung containers holding the *popoi* of the *tapu* members of the household. These were the jaws of the hogs that had been eaten at the feast of consecration of the house when it was new. The interior of the house was lighted at night by means of kernels of the candlenut *(ama)* strung on the midrib of a coconut leaf or on a strip of bamboo. This candle was stuck into the side of the house, and a vessel was placed beneath to catch the ashes.

The Fata'a

The structure restricted to the use of *tapu* men was the *fata'a (fata'a moe, nahua)*. This according to accounts on Hiva Oa, consisted of a frame, the dimensions of which were about 15 by 20 feet, raised on posts from five to twelve feet high, over which was a roof or house. This structure stood close by the platform of the common sleeping house. The top of the staging, or floor of the house, was made of planks or logs. On it was a fireplace made of earth and stones, where the food of the *tapu* members of the household was prepared. The *fata'a* served also as a storehouse for the food of these *tapu* persons. Old men, who no longer associated with women, and hence were always *tapu*, lived constantly on the *fata'a*, sleeping there. Women were never allowed to enter but only men and boys. The floor was reached from the ground by means of a ladder, made, according to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

763 then returning to her expression of grief. It is merely a rite intended to convince the departed spirit of the sorrow of those left behind. The women also performed the dance called *heva*, throwing off all their clothes, leaping up and down, raising their arms in the air and fluttering their hands. The dancing appears not to have been in groups—that is to say, it was not organized—but like the wailing was done by women as they were moved to express themselves in this way. It was another conventional expression of frenzied grief for the sake of the spirit. Although these performances were histrionic, conventional, and discontinuous, expressing formal grief, it is nevertheless evident from descriptions that at these times the people worked themselves into a state of emotional frenzy. In addition to wailing [304] and dancing, women mutilated themselves by cutting their heads and bodies with sharks' teeth, shells, and pieces of sharp stone, so that blood ran freely. This was called *mata-hikahika*. Men did not participate in these violent acts but chanted and did the work connected with preparation of the body for burial and the funeral feast. Songs chanted by women as a part of their mourning were, according to Père Pierre, almost always erotic. On Nuku Hiva the crying for the dead was sometimes called *hai vai-mata*. It is said that people came to do this only if a feast was offered.

All who came as mourners brought gifts to the dead, apparently consisting always of tapa. This custom exists today in the presentation to the body of European goods and money. Formerly these gifts were disposed of with the body, but today they are kept by the family.

Memorial Feasts

764 765 It is difficult to give a consecutive description of the successive feasts for the dead, for the reason that these were numerous and complicated in the ancient days and very little is remembered of them today. The best notes that I have regarding these come from the manuscripts of Catholic missionaries. Feasts for the dead were called inclusively *mau tupapa'u*. According to Père Jean (19) women were excluded from such feasts. It is known, however, that women participated in some feasts; this note must, therefore refer to certain of the feasts or parts of them that immediately followed death, or else it has reference to the fact that the great feasts were given only for men's spirits.

According to Père Pierre (4) there were nine feasts in honor of the dead, all the people joining in furnishing the food. They were called: *mcmava hakanoho, tia hahati, vaikaukau, vaimata, haoka, menavatu, iki ha'e, tahioa,* and *kahekaika*. At all these feasts many pigs were eaten

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

and much *kava* was drunk. The feasts were given to the accompaniment of drums and the chants of the ceremonial priest. Whole nights were passed in chanting. Before the beating of the drums, the priest intoned the chant called *kaheoko*.

Dordillon (8) gives the following as the names of successive feasts for the dead: *menava hakanoho, tiahahati, haoka, uu moeka, taha, uhe* or *kohekena*. (8, p. 283.) The *ko'ika vai-mata* and *ko'ika he'e vai-mata* (feast of tears) were, according to a Nuku Hiva informant, feasts held at the house of a dead man immediately after death. The *ko'ika hakanoho menava* (feast to cause the spirit to stay) was celebrated when death seemed impending, in the attempt to prevent it. There was feasting and wailing. The *ko'ika tiahahati*—a *tapu* rite—that is, one in which women could not participate, was celebrated after the body had been dried. It included feasting and dancing.

According to modern Hiva Oa informants, the feast and accompanying celebration at the time of death was called *ko'ina vai-mata (vai-mata,* tears). Some say that women were excluded from such a feast. Melville (23, p. 224), however, describes witnessing one at which girls were dancing and women eating with the men, and he states definitely that women took an active part in the feast immediately following death. It is probable that there were certain parts of the rite immediately following death—such as the recitation of the sacred chants—that were *tapu* to women. The feast was given for the relatives and friends of the dead person and for the assistants who aided in the labor connected with the funerary practices, including the ceremonial priest who officiated. I was told that at such a feast old women danced the *heva* naked.

Krusenstern (16, p. 173) says that for these feasts the whole stock of the family's hogs, taro and breadfruit was brought forth.

> As soon as the guests are assembled, they cut off the hog's head to propitiate the gods, and obtain for the deceased a safe and peaceable passage through the lower regions. This gift, which the priest takes possession of is secretly devoured by him, and he only leaves a small piece of it under a stone.

Langsdorff says (18, p. 154), however, that

> At least half the swine belonging to the deceased are then killed and roasted. The Tau'a and other of the taboo-friends are informed of the death, and invited to the funeral. Before the arrival of the guests, a large piece of cloth is stretched out behind the bier, on which the corpse is laid, and several stakes are stuck up with pieces of fine white cloth upon them. These are to mark the taboo place.

According to the manuscript of Père Pierre, three pigs were commonly killed on the day of the death or that immediately following. One of these, called *tia hahati* or *tia fafati (fafati,* to break), was distributed and

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

eaten by all. According to Dordillon (8) *tia fafati* was the name of the second feast given for a dead person. In addition to this pig the flesh of which was distributed, two more pigs were killed, these being called *vaikaukau* (to bathe). What was done with these or whether they were eaten after purification by bathing—a custom following the handling of the body in the first stages of its treatment—is not indicated.

Funeral Chanting

On the night following a death six chants were recited at different times throughout the hours of darkness in connection with the following practices. (See Chants.) The first of these, called *menava tupapa'u* (breath of the dead body), was chanted in the house of the dead man by a group of old men at about six o'clock in the evening. At this time the body was placed on a sheet of *tapa*. A little later, at the time of the recitation of the chant called *puna tohu (puna,* coral or lime; *tohu,* to put on), lime was put on the inside of the coffin to keep the body from smelling—according to informants. The third chant, intoned at about midnight, was the *vai hahae tupapa'u (vai,* water; *hahae,* to break; and *tupapa'u,* corpse). The singing of this chant was accompanied by the sprinkling of a little fresh water on the corpse. This relieved the *tapu* and those present could smoke and eat. At about four A. M. another chant called the *tai ka'anu* was recited for the *menava,* or life breath of the spirit *(tai* means sea, *ka'anu* indicates that the spirit is ready for its departure). At a certain time during this chant the body was washed. The chant was addressed to the spirit and had reference to the regions in the next world to which it would shortly go. At five A. M. another chant, called *fiufiu,* was intoned *(fiu* is said to mean calling to or asking the spirit). In this chant the spirit was urged to free itself from the body, the object of the chant being to strengthen the power of the spirit. The last chant was sung at six o'clock in the morning after the *kuhane,* spirit, was supposed to have taken its departure by way of the mouth. Lastly the chanting of the *aumeha* relieved the company from *tapu (ha'ame'ie,* made clear), and all smoked and ate. (The same *aumeha* was also sung for a new born child at the time of the building of his shrine by his father.)

Funeral Rites for Chiefs and Priests

For chiefs, and inspirational and ceremonial priests, there were much more elaborate funeral rites, including a ceremonial *tapu* on the whole tribe and human sacrifices. On Hiva Oa the bodies of sacrificed human victims were placed at the feet of the dead chief as he lay on his bier. Children were sometimes buried alive with the body of an inspirational priest.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Treatment of Dead Bodies

Tupapa'u (or *tupapaku)* was the word applied to dead bodies. *Paku* means to rub with oil. In other words, a *tupapaku* was a corpse that had been rubbed with oil—a mummy. The body of a dead person was first laid on a piece of cloth and was washed. After the feast at the time of death and the chanting on the night following—that is to say, after the spirit was supposed to have left the body, it was placed on a bier and the process of rubbing, which accomplished a temporary mummification, was begun. When the body was not being rubbed, it was sometimes placed on the bier, flat on its back and covered with white cloth. At other times it was propped in a seated position with the arms and the head resting over a cross made of two sticks. It appears that the purpose of this custom was to allow juices to run out of the mouth as well as the anus, rather than to put the body in a position in which it could be best observed. 764

Garcia (14, p. 116) describes the dressing of a dead warrior in his finest clothes, placing near him his arms, head-dress and ornaments, and the trophies of his prowess. The body was left thus, lying at length or seated on its bier, from two to eight days. After the body had been embalmed and skinned, the remains were put in a coffin, which was elevated on stakes under the roof of a special house entirely closed on all four sides or half open and an offering of food was made.

On Hiva Oa the process of embalming was called *ha'a pa'a.* As the body lay on its bier, it was rubbed with perfumed coconut oil called *huhe.* Four or more men and women who were relatives of the dead person—according to my informant on Hiva Oa—rubbed the body continuously for about six days. During the time of rubbing, decay was going on in the interior of the body, the juices being allowed to run out through the anus into a pit or ditch *(vaio)* below the bier. When the decaying matter had all run out and the surface of the body was firm, the labor was finished. The body was then usually left on its bier until it dried up. During the time of the rubbing the food of those attending the body was brought to them. They were not allowed to prepare their own food, but they fed themselves. During all this time they slept in the house with the body and were not allowed to wash even their hands. The reason given for this is hard to understand. The explanation given was that if they had washed, they would have been visited by evil spirits. The workers were very *tapu.* After embalming was accomplished, all the attendants washed in fresh water and the *tapu* was lifted. According to Père Pierre, three times each day certain people came to rub the dead body with raw breadfruit paste. Special women attendants were devoted to this work. Père Siméon says [784]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

764 that relatives of the dead person who attended the body drank the juices which came from its decay. On Nuku Hiva I was told that the treatment of bodies was distinctly a function of old men who no longer had any association with women. According to this informant, women not being *tapu*, never touch the dead. The object in oiling the body was particularly to preserve it; but in the minds of old informants, it was also for the purpose of making clear and brilliant the tattooing on the skin of the [824] corpse. Jardin (15, p. 42) says that the head of a corpse was rubbed with coconut oil, and that it was surrounded with fruits of the *kaupe (Carissa grandis)* to prevent the hair from falling out.

During the time of treatment, when the body was not covered with cloth, it was continuously fanned by relatives, doubtless to keep from it [243] the flies, which would have interfered with the mummification. A tortoise-shell fan used for this purpose was obtained by our party. The following quotation from Melville (23, p. 224) describes the fanning of dead bodies in this way on Nuku Hiva:

> Two females, of a dejected appearance, watched by its side, plaintively chanting and beating the air with large grass fans whitened with pipe-clay.

Skinning dead bodies is described on Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. This process was described to me as consisting in a gradual rubbing or scraping off of the surface skin only, for the sake of showing more clearly the tattooing that lay beneath. It appears, however, that sometimes, at least, the skin itself was actually removed from the body and kept in the house of the family as a sacred relic. How this was done I could not find out.

Offerings Placed With the Body

Certain offerings were placed near the dead body to aid it in securing safe passage to the next world. On Nuku Hiva these offerings consisted of a pig's head and a piece of *kava* root *(kahau kava)*. In the southern section of the group a dog was hung up on the side of the house in which lay the dead body, and a dead pig was placed under the corpse's knees, these offerings being called *tuao*, gift for the dead. Living poultry and pigs' heads were offered also at this time. As the spirit after its escape from the body was supposed to be subject to attack by evil spirits that sought to devour it, these offerings were made to attract the demons, thus giving the departing soul an opportunity to escape. The hog's head and root of *kava* were also considered to be offerings, with which the *kuhane* [775] or spirit was to gain admittance to the lower regions. Unless the *kuhane* had these offerings to present to the being that guarded the entrance to the underworld, it had no hope of reaching that region.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

During the time that the body lay in the shed erected for its protection, food was offered to it and coconut shell vessels filled with *popoi* and fish were kept near the bier. Père Pierre says that, before eating, the members of the family took a little *popoi* on the end of the finger and threw it into the shed to feed the dead. Likewise the first puff of tobacco smoke ejected into the air was dedicated to the dead.

Destruction of Property

All the articles that had been associated with the dead person during the time of sickness and after death, including clothes, utensils, house, and the clothing of the attendants of the body, were burned. It is to be noted, however, that this custom is not entirely a result of a belief in contamination through association with sickness and death. It will be seen that the special structures associated with all labor were burned upon completion of the labor.

So much for the general features of the treatment of dead bodies. There were certain details in practice that varied considerably on the several islands. According to Linton, private sepulchral platforms *(taha tupapa'u)* were not used in Fatu Hiva:

> The body was slung under the roof of the dwelling on a sort of stretcher. At the end of two or three days there was an explosion and the bowels ran out into vessels placed below to receive them. The body was then taken out, oiled, and mummified as elsewhere. After the mummification, it was kept in the house for a long time, and finally hidden in a cave.

Coffins and Biers

On Hiva Oa coffins were called *papa tupapa'u*. On Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva a portable bier that was kept in the sleeping house was called *papa tupapuku*. This seems not to have been used on Hiva Oa. On the other hand the bier erected on the special platform for the dead was called on Hiva Oa *fata'a* and *tupapa'u*. The coffin itself in which the bones were placed was called on Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, *pa'aha*.

Coffins were made of the wood of various trees: *mei* (breadfruit), *netae* (flamboyant), *puatea*, and *hutu (Barringtonia speciosa)*. It was customary for the family of an old man or woman to make his or her coffin some time in advance of death. In case death occurred suddenly, the coffin had to be made quickly and was less elaborate than otherwise. Coffins were frequently referred to as canoes *(vaka)*. The process of adzing was similar to that followed in hollowing out a canoe, the tree being felled, a piece of the proper length cut, and the outside and the inside shaped by adzing. The making of a coffin for a chief was a cere-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

●764 monial process. The adz with which it was made was *tapu,* and was called *toki mana (toki,* adz, *mana,* power), or *toki tapu.* The carver had to bathe before he started work and wore a head-dress of coconut leaves *(pa'e koua'ehi)* and a coconut leaf on his body *(tapi koua'ehi)* and a *hami puo* (a special loin cloth of some kind) (9). During the process of manufacture, the *pu'e,* creation or generation chant, was recited by the ceremonial priest. The work of adzing, carving, and decorating was done in an especially built house by masters skilled in these crafts.

Coffins were either flat-ended or canoe-shaped, with pointed ends. The former types have been observed on Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Ua Pou. On Ua Huka Mr. Linton observed coffins made of smoothly polished wood and canoe-shaped with pointed, upturned ends. These canoes showed no signs of decoration with ornamental sennit and had neither lids nor mat covers. Lucett, commenting on the coffins he observed on Tahu Ata says:

> Their dead are encased in hollowed pieces of timber, something resembling small canoes, and are suspended beneath sheds, on mounds of stones (21, vol. 2, p. 197).

Stewart (26, p. 259) describes a canoe-shaped coffin on Nuku Hiva:

> The most remarkable of these was a coffin, something in the shape of a canoe, with a neatly wrought lid, the whole being wrapped in large folds of native cloth, containing the remains of a son of the Taua, who died many years since. It is elevated two or three feet from the ground on a bier of frame-work, and occupies the centre of the house.

This statement shows that some of the coffins had lids. Dordillon gives the words *papapu* and *papa puho as* terms meaning the covering of a coffin, the former being from the northern section of the group, the latter from the southern. *Papapu* means also a kind of small canoe. Modern informants on Hiva Oa have told me that lids were never used there. One coffin covered with fau bark mats was seen by Mr. Linton. That coffins were made both with and without lids is evident, but whether lids were ever used in Hiva Oa or not could not be ascertained.

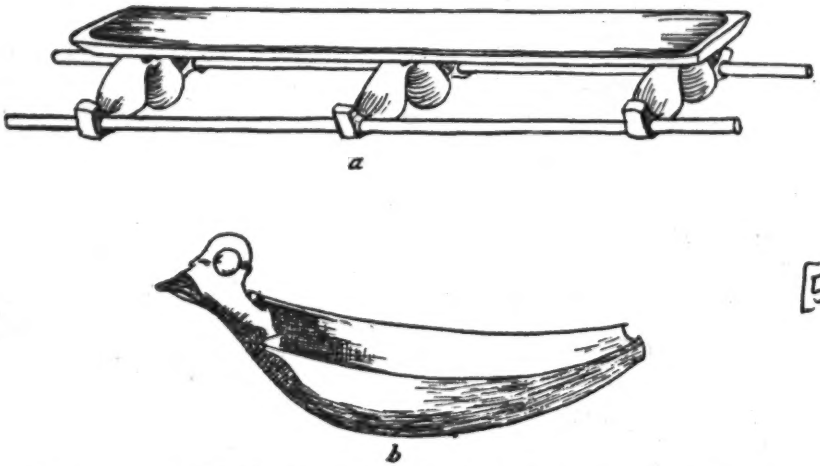
[53] In both the southern and northern sections of the group coffins were elaborately ornamented with lashings of sennit, black and red strips crossing each other in alternate directions over the white tapa that covered the body of the coffin. The designs for this decoration were taken from string figures. For carrying the coffin a long pole was lashed on each side, the sennit lashings being ornamental.

It has already been said that instead of the platform surmounted by a fixed bier on posts found on Hiva Oa, there was used on Ua Pou and on Nuku Hiva a portable bier, which was kept in the dwelling house and carried out during the day-time when the body was sunned. The main part of this *papa tupapaku* consisted of a heavy, hollowed board *(papa)* of

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

764

exactly the same form as those used for beating *popoi*. It rested on legs called *toko papa*, spreading from a central support lashed to the board. The form is shown in the accompanying drawing (fig. 11, *a*). There was one pair of legs at each end of the board and another pair in the middle, so that the pairs of legs were at right angles to the body of the bier. The legs were carved with designs, and the feet with conventional human



a

b

[532]

FIGURE 11.—*a*. Portable bier (drawn from one pair of legs supplemented by description); *b*, bowl for carrying the head of a dead chief (After Edge-Partington and Heape, Series 1, 48, No. 1).

figures. Poles for carrying the bier were lashed to the feet on either side. The bottom of the board was either carved or decorated with black or red ornamental sennit lashed over white bark cloth.

DISPOSAL OF BONES

The body was left on the bier until the bones had fallen apart. These were then scraped and bundled up *(kokonatua)*, the skull was removed, and a tight bundle was made of the bones by wrapping them in cloth and binding with sennit. According to an informant on Nuku Hiva, the process consisted in dislocating the bones, placing them in a pile, wrapping them with strips of sacred white cloth, wrapping around this a large bundle of *tapa*, and then tying the bundle with hibiscus bark or coconut fiber, and finally hanging it up to the roof of the house. Melville (23, p. 225)

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1764 describes seeing a whole body wrapped in tapa and suspended from the side of a house. He says:

> It was enveloped in immense folds of *tappa* with only the face exposed, and hung erect against the side of the dwelling.

At other times the bones were wrapped in cloth or a mat and placed in a coffin, over which was put a sheet of cloth or a rough mat of fau bark. Some of these coffins were open on top, and others had lids. They were put in a cave, or in a banyan tree, or were slung up under the roof of a special house constructed for the purpose in the sacred place, or suspended from the ridge pole of the dwelling house. At the time when the bones were placed in the coffin, three pigs, called *humu ia pa'aha,* were killed, to bind in the coffin (4). Bones were sometimes buried in the sepulchral platform or in the platform of a temple. Some temples had special pits lined with cut red-stone slabs for the purpose of receiving bones.

The skull was sometimes left with the body in the coffin. More frequently it was detached and secreted. Skulls were commonly put on or in the ground in the tribal temple or secreted in the sacred banyans on these sacred places or in other trees that surrounded them. After the temple, the favorite place for disposition of skulls was in caves difficult of access, called *ana hakanatina* (cave for hiding). The skull of a chief was an object of tribal veneration. When the body of a chief had been exposed for about a month, his sister's daughter, accompanied by her grandfather and grandmother, went secretly and cut off the head. The body was put in a cave in the mountains, but the head, which was very *tapu,* was placed in a small oblong vessel with a bird's head carved at one end (*otue*). (See fig. 11, *b.*) The vessel was covered with a cloth and the head was carried in it to the temple by the women. When they came to the sacred precincts, the grandfather took the vessel and carried it in. The skull was thereafter kept there, being brought out at the time of certain public activities, such as fishing. When a chiefess died, her husband, accompanied by her maternal uncle or other maternal relatives, took the head to the temple. The great care which was taken in the preservation of the skull of a deceased ancestor is another manifestation of the belief in close association between a man's skull or head and his spiritual power—a belief exhibited in another way in war, in the capture of heads and in their preservation.

[1768] Ceremonial and inspirational priests were sometimes buried in a vault dug beneath the sacred place of the tribe. This vault will be described in connection with the temple *(me'ae).* It is striking that the two most

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

sacred classes of individuals of the tribe were given grave burial in the ground, the only other persons who were buried in this way being those who died without relatives to take care of their bodies properly, and certain persons whose spirits were specially feared, such as the insane, lepers, consumptives, and women who had died in childbirth. 764 [778]

The great memorial festivals that followed some time after the death and disposal of the body of a chief or high priest are described under Festivals.

SACRED PLACES OF SEPULTURE

The *taha tupapa'u (taha,* place; *tupapa'u,* corpse), a part of the establishment of every family in Hiva Oa, was virtually the family shrine. It was a sacred platform consecrated primarily to the treatment and disposal of the bodies of the dead and as such actually amounted to a private temple (*me'ae*). These platforms for the dead were, however, never referred to as *me'ae.* On the other hand the platform on which the body of the priest or chief was placed, at death, being the same as that at which tribal ceremonial was performed was called a *me'ae.* 764 778

Me'ae were fundamentally and originally places of sepulture, though they functioned also as places of public ceremonial. These two functions of the tomb-temples united as one, since all the ceremonial that was performed at the *me'ae* had to do with the bodies of priests or chiefs or with sacrifice to tribal deities—these priests and chiefs deified—or with some phase of the ancestral cult. There were other sacred places not of equal importance. Such were family shrines, sacred places for the purpose of depositing hair of women and other sacred objects, special sacred places for the purpose of depositing the hair of men, and so on. Lastly there was a type of sacred place called *tokai* at which offerings were presented to the evil spirits *(fanana)* that caused women to die in child-birth. (See Spirits.)

Me'ae was the term generally used for the tribal sacred places. On the island of Ua Huka and Ua Pou, they were known more commonly as *ahu.* Other synonymous terms used throughout the group were: *a tapu (a,* place; *tapu,* sacred); *vahi tapu (vahi,* place); *taha tapu (taha,* place). Dordillon gives also *vahi hi'o hi'o (vahi,* place; *hi'o hi'o,* calm, silent); *pito tapu (pito,* umbilicus). *Ona tapu (ona,* enclosure) is also given as meaning a place where *tapu* objects were put (8). Père Jean (19) distinguishes two types of *me'ae.* He wrote that *ahu fenua (fenua,* land) were tribal shrines at which food offerings were presented; here there was no eating of human flesh. *Ahu ikoa enana (ikoa,* name; *enana,* man), on the other hand, were the property of particular families, being burial

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

764 778 places of chiefs and priests and at the same time places of human sacrifice and places where revenge victims were devoured. The type of *ahu* in which human flesh was eaten was accessible only to priests, chiefs, and warriors. One infers that the other *ahu,* being tribal, was more accessible to the common people.

Broadly used, *me'ae* was applied not only to sacred places that had platforms or buildings associated with treatment of bodies or ceremonial but sometimes to any places, such as trees, hill tops, or caves, that had been used for disposal of sacred relices of the dead. Specifically, however, when a *me'ae* is spoken of, a sacred place with platforms and other structures, used for tribal ceremonial, is referred to.

764 778 184 Sepulchral platforms were used rarely, if at all, by private families on Nuku Hiva and on Ua Pou. Mr. Linton found that they were absent also in Fatu Hiva. On Ua Huka Mr. Linton found them to be used in the same way as those on Hiva Oa, but called, however, *vahi tomia tupapa'u (vahi,* place; *tomia,* burial). Though these platforms, called *taha tupapa'u* in Hiva Oa, were not used on Ua Pou nor on Nuku Hiva, there was in use on Ua Pou, and apparently on Nuku Hiva also, a special house in which the body was treated. In other words, the only difference in practice was that the house was not placed on a specially erected platform on Ua Pou unless the body was that of a chief or priest, in which case the house was on the platfrom of the *me'ae.* On Ua Pou, the body of a commoner was treated in a small special house or shed erected on the ground near the platform of the sleeping house or was kept on a portable bier in the sleeping house. Evidence obtained by me would indicate that it was only the bodies of those of chiefly or priestly class that were honored by being placed in the *me'ae.* As regards Nuku Hiva, Porter says (24, pp. 114-115), without stating whether he is speaking merely of the chiefly class or not:

> When a person dies, the body is deposited in a coffin, and a stage erected, either in a house vacated for the purpose, in which the coffin is placed, or a small house of sufficient size to contain the coffin is built in front of a tabbooed house, on the platform of stones, in which the coffin is deposited. The former is practiced with the bodies of women, the latter with those of men; guardians are appointed to sleep near and protect them.

Porter's evidence would indicate that on Nuku Hiva it was the bodies of men that were put in the *me'ae,* the bodies of women being treated in an abandoned sleeping house.

TAHA TUPAPA'U

764 778 On Hiva Oa the *taha tupapa'u,* or platform for the dead, is a simple small platform carefully constructed of stream boulders, well fitted to-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

gether and encasing rough stone, rubble, and earth. These platforms are easily recognizable through the fact that their height is much greater in proportion to their length and breadth as compared with that of the platform of the sleeping house. The dimensions of *taha tupapa'u* averaged between six and eight feet in height, ten and fifteen feet in length, six and ten feet in breadth. These platforms for the dead stand in close proximity to the sleeping houses. In the upper surface of the platform was a trench called *vale*, which ran lengthwise with the platform beneath the bier on which the body was exposed, and which was intended to catch the juices of decay that came from it.

The bier, on which the body was extended, stood in the middle of the platform on four posts about four feet high and was made usually of fau poles. Melville (23, p. 224) describes a bier on Nuku Hiva constructed of elastic bamboo ingeniously twisted together. This was supported, about two feet from the ground, by large canes planted uprightly in the earth.

The body lay extended on this bier, either exposed for treatment and drying or covered with a sheet of tapa; or it was seated, leaning forward, with arms and head supported on a frame in a shape of a cross. The portable bier used on Ua Pou has been already described.

Protecting the bier and the workers was a *fa'e vaka (fa'e*, house; *vaka*, canoe) or *fa'e ha'a pa'a (ha'a pa'a*, to dry). This was merely a four-posted shed open at the sides, the roof of which was thatched with coconut leaf mats. When the body was being treated, the shed was decorated with ribbons or strips of the sacred white or red banyan cloth, about one foot wide, with coconut leaves plaited on the posts *(kopinipini)* and with other greenery.

ME'AE

Me'ae, the sacred places used for burial and for the performance of ritual at times of festivals, with few exceptions consisted of a platform or platforms within a sacred but not enclosed area, and were located in various types of places, according to their main usage. Those that were primarily for burial were in secluded spots such as the depths of valleys, the tops of hills, and so on. On the other hand, those that appear to have had burial merely as secondary usage, being primarily for the performance of ritual in connection with festivals, were attached to and a part of the feast place, which was itself a part of the establishment of the chief of the tribe. It may be that those of the latter type were used at times for burial, but it is certain that this was not the main purpose for which they were built, as it was the purpose for which those in the secluded spots

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

●764 778 were erected. It would seem that Père Jean's term *ahu fenua* must refer to those that were attached to or near to the feast place, and that the *ahu ikoa kenana* were those used for burial.

Me'ae were usually owned by the chief as the head of the tribe. A chief or tribe might have one or many; private families had their own sacred places. Such evidence as has come to me, however, shows that these were never called *me'ae*, but were given various names—*taha tupapa'u*, *ahu*, *feia'u*—depending on their use. The *me'ae* of a chief, like all of his other possessions, was inherited by his first-born.

The names of *me'ae* are usually not subject to analysis or translation. Occasionally one can trace a name to mythological sources, as O'o Va'u, a *me'ae* in the valley of Vevau (Atu Ona), this name being taken from that of an ancient land prominent in mythology. The names of temples are rarely descriptive—another *me'ae* in the same valley is called Ke'i Ani (*ke'i*, pierce; *ani*, sky), but this is really the name of a small mountain in the valley, the top of which served as the temple. There are certain temple names which appear to have been favorites—that which recurs more frequently than any other throughout the group is Pou Au which was the name of the central *me'ae* of Vevau. The term used by Père Jean for the type of *ahu* used for burial, *ahu ikoa kenana* (*ikoa*, name; *kenana*, man), suggests that such *me'ae* were named after the individuals in whose honor they were built.

The placing of the platforms in the *me'ae* was determined by use and topography. They were built like those of sleeping houses and had one or several levels according to the requirements of their use. They consisted of a core of earth with broken stone and rubble in a casing of boulders or natural blocks. Some *me'ae* had several rows of equal sized smooth beach boulders (*kiva*) in the walls, and rows of cut, red-stone slabs (*ke'etu*) lining the borders of different levels like a curbing. Others [532] were ornamented with blocks carved as human heads, small conventionalized representations of the human figures in relief, and geometric bas-reliefs on red-stone slabs. There was no enclosing wall around the sacred place—the limits of the sacred precincts would appear to have been well enough known not to have needed such protection, and during rites, the sacred limits, beyond which the people must not pass, were indicated by stakes of fau wrapped with cloth.

The most important of the platforms was that which held the images. As a rule this was placed in a position dominating the rest, being commonly in such a location as to make it the rearmost of the group of platforms that constituted the *me'ae* as a whole.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

On other platfroms were houses for various purposes: the house of the inspirational priest *(fa'e takau, fa'e tu'a)*, a house or houses in which his assistants lived during the rites, another for the ceremonial priest, the *fa'e vaka* for the body of the dead chief or priest—if this ceremonial were being performed—, a house for the bodies of human sacrifices, and so on. All of these types of houses, the temporary shrines that were erected at certain times in the sacred place, the images and *tapu* signs, and the paraphernalia, such as drums and conch-shells—all constituting temporary parts of the *me'ae*—will be described in connection with the rites of which they were a part. Long stone slabs or blocks were set up on some platforms or in the ground to serve as back-rests for the priests and old men who took part in the ritual.

It appears that beneath some of the *me'ae* there were pits or vaults, dug for the burial of ceremonial priests (*tau'a*). Père Jean (19) says that the body of the dead *tau'a* was buried in a very deep pit beneath the *ahu*, and adds that from many of these pits there branched off a subterranean way, at the end of which was another pit or ditch with another subterranean way or vault *(souterrain)* at the end of it.

According to modern informants, pits lined with cut red-stone slabs were made in temple platforms, some being intended to hold a whole skeleton, or skeletons, and others being merely for the deposition of skulls. Other round well-like pits lined with boulders are to be observed in the platforms of *me'ae*, the use of some of which would appear to have been for storing the breadfruit paste *(ma)* eaten by the priests and their attendants, and of others for disposing of sacred objects. Some of the sacrifice pits are known to have been a part of the sacred platforms or to have been near them, and others were separate. At Ta'a Oa on the island of Hiva Oa, at some distance to the eastward of the *me'ae*, there is such a pit into which the human sacrifices were thrown. At Pua Ma'u Mr. Linton examined such a sacrifice pit, which was stone lined. According to Père Siméon, these sacrifice pits were called *tai nui* (*tai*, sea; *nui*, great). A trustworthy informant on Nuku Hiva said that they were called there *pa keho (pa*, enclosure; *keho*, stone blocks of basalt). The remains of human bones and animal bones found in the platforms of sacred places, as well as literary evidence from the manuscripts of the Catholic Fathers and information from living natives, show that the remains of sacrifices and sacred objects were sometimes buried under the floor of the sacred platforms, instead of being thrown into pits.

Universally associated with the *me'ae* were sacred trees or sacred groves. Most common of all is the banyan *(aoa)* which was sacred beyond all other trees. Frequently nowadays a great banyan is found growing

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

upon the most important platform of a *me'ae* and in many places it is impossible to tell whether the tree was planted on a platform already built or whether the platform was built around a tree already growing. The tangled roots of these great banyans furnished a hiding place for sacred relics of the dead and for other objects. In some places ironwood trees *(toa)*, which grew naturally on high secluded spots, formed the sacred groves. Many of the sacred places were located where there were single great *temanu* trees or groves of them.

Me'ae were *tapu* always, but particularly during the time of performance of ritual in their precincts. At no time could a woman—other than an inspirational priestess—set foot within the precincts of a temple. At the time of ceremonial it appears that, at some times at least, not even the chief could enter, only those being allowed access who were actually performing ceremonial, namely, the priests and their assistants. At other times, it is evident that, in addition to the ceremonial priests, the chief and warriors entered.

With the completion of a rite in the *me'ae*, all the temporary structures connected with it, including the shrines and houses (but not the images), were destroyed. It was only during the times of ceremonies that even the inspiration priest actually stayed in the precincts. At other times, the sacred places were deserted—hence their unkempt appearance described by a number of early visitors.[4]

DESCRIPTIONS OF SEPULCHRAL PLACES BY EARLY VISITORS

Some of the descriptions of sepulchral houses and platforms given in the accounts of early visitors are of *taha tupapa'u*, others of *me'ae*. It is not of great importance to distinguish between the two in the descriptions, since the use of both and the customs in connection with them were in general the same. Du Petit-Thouars observed houses for the dead, the posts of which were painted red and yellow (10, p. 347). In the account of the Duff's voyage (30, pp. 525-526), a sepulchral place of a chief (doubtless a *fae* in a *me'ae)* is described as follows:

> This house stood on a square platform, raised with stones, with a wall six-feet high, on the lowest side; (all of them being built upon a declivity;) a sort of escutcheon appears in the inside in memory of Honoo, the chief's father. A drum, somewhat in the Otaheitean style, but much longer, adorns each end. At a little distance, on the same platform, another house presents itself, built on a small eminence, leaving a space in front, where two rude wooden figures of men are placed, nearly as large as life. Against the side of the house, three other escutcheons

[4]For details of the construction of *me'ae* and other stone structures the reader is referred to Linton's report on his archaeological survey, which at this date (December, 1922) has not yet been published.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

are placed. The house had no door or opening of any kind; but excited by curiosity, one of the brethren opened a hole on the side of it, and beheld a coffin fixed upon two stakes, about a yard from the ground. 764 778

The following is a description (17, p. 158) of a similar place on Fatu Hiva:

On the platform were two coffins of hollowed coco-nut trees slung between stakes, stuck up after the fashion of piled arms. Over these coffins were the remains of a kind of thatch of leaf matting. Skulls grinned at us from the hollows, between the roots of neighboring trees. The coffins had fallen partly from their places, and skeletons, tappa cloth, strings of beads, and hair mixed with cocoa fibre, streamed over the sides on to the ground, presenting a gruesome spectacle. Bowls for holding food for the corpses lay about, a flask made from a gourd hung from a branch, and two roughly carved wooden gods surveyed the scene with a sort of drunken solemnity.

The following descriptions by Porter and Melville of what they observed in Nuku Hiva are interesting, in that they are indicative of the definite conception in the mind of the native that the soul of the dead went to Havai'i in a canoe. On Hiva Oa I have never heard of this custom of placing the body seated in a canoe and am inclined to think it was peculiar to Nuku Hiva. Porter (24, p. 111) says: [184]

On the right of this grove, distant only a few paces, were four splendid war canoes, furnished with their outriggers, and decorated with ornaments of human hair, coral, shells, etc., with an abundance of white streamers. Their heads were placed towards the mountain, and in the stern of each was a figure of a man with a paddle steering, in full dress, ornamented with plumes, ear-rings made to represent those formed of whales' teeth, and every other ornament of the fashion of the country.

Melville's description (23, pp. 201-202) is as follows:

Like all the other edifices of any note, it was raised upon a small pi-pi of stones, which, being of unusual height, was a conspicuous object from a distance. A light thatching of bleached palmetto-leaves hung over it like a self-supported canopy; for it was not until you came very near that you saw it was supported by four slender columns of bamboo, rising at each corner to a little more than the height of a man. A clear area of a few yards surrounded the pi-pi and was enclosed by four trunks of cocoa-nut trees resting at the angles on massive blocks of stone. The place was sacred. The sign of the inscrutable Taboo was seen in the shape of a mystic roll of white Tappa, suspended by a twisted cord of the same material from the top of a slight pole planted within the enclosure. . . . On all sides as you approached this silent spot you caught sight of the dead chief's effigy, seated in the stern of a canoe, which was raised on a light frame a few inches above the level of the pi-pi. The canoe was about seven feet in length; of a rich, dark colored wood, handsomely carved and adorned in many places with variegated bindings of stained sinnate, into which were ingeniously wrought a number of sparkling sea-shells, and a belt of the same shells ran all around it. The body of the figure—of whatever material it might have been made—was effectually concealed in a heavy robe of brown tappa, revealing only the hands and head; the latter skilfully carved in wood, and surmounted by a superb arch of plumes. These plumes, in the subdued and gentle gales which found access to this sequestered spot, were never for one moment at

1; Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

764
778

rest, but kept nodding and waving over the chief's brow. The long leaves of the palmetto dropped over the eaves, and through them you saw the warrior holding his paddle with both hands in the act of rowing, leaning forward and inclining his head, as if eager to hurry on his voyage. Glaring at him forever, and face to face, was a polished human skull, which crowned the prow of the canoe. The spectral figurehead, reversed in its position, glancing backwards, seemed to mock the impatient attitude of the warrior.

Stewart (26, p. 266) observed the following in Nuku Hiva:

The bier was prepared for the deposit of the body after it should be placed in the coffin, and the cones of cocoa-nut leaf were shrines formed by the priests, in which to place food and water for the spirit of the deceased, to which incense, formed by placing heated stones in urns of cocoa-nut oil, is also offered.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

upon the water at sea for a month at a time without food. Such beliefs in the miraculous powers of inspirational priests are characteristic of the natives of the Marquesas.

On Fatu Hiva it was said that when an old *tau'a* died his soul entered into the person who should be his successor. In other words the person who exhibited a fit of possession immediately after the death of the inspirational priest was the dead priests's successor. This was usually some member of the priest's family, the son or daughter, but occasionally an unrelated person. Some of the *tau'a* were men who were distinguished by remarkable physical deformity of some kind.

The following incident from the history of the Na-iki will give another example of the miraculous power of these priests and bring out how important a part they played in tribal affairs.

In one great war all Pepane descended upon the Na-iki, who, not being able to summon their allies to their aid were unable to resist, and fled to Tahu Ata. The *tau'a* of the tribe, named Ma'a-ia-ope, fled with his people, wearing his *kahu kohito,* or sacred robe of office. His mother took refuge in the mountains of Hiva Oa, carrying with her the sacred whale's tooth of the priest and hiding it in a cave. After the Na-iki had been on Tahu Ata for a short time, the *tau'a* set about finding out where it was the god's will that the Na-iki should settle. It is said that he sent his sacred robe to every island to determine whether the Na-iki would follow it and take up their residence there. So great was the power (*mana*) of the *tau'a* that he was able to cause the robe to go without the aid of any material agency. The place where it rested was to be the chosen spot. The robe returned from every place to which he sent it, until finally he sent it to the mountain named Kei Ani, the sacred mount in the valley of Vevau, the original home of the Na-iki, from which they had been driven. There the sacred garment remained, indicating that the god willed that Na-iki should return to their own valley, which they accordingly did.

The functions of the inspirational priest were threefold: caring for the remains of the dead, presiding at the tribal ceremonial, and learning and giving utterance to the will of the tribal god. Bones that were to be disposed of in the sacred place or in a cave were entrusted to him. The skulls of chiefs that were kept in the temple and were used in certain rites enemies killed were given to him to be consecrated in the temple before they were returned to their captors. The part he played in the tribal ceremonial will be described later. (See Human Sacrifice.)

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The melody is sung all within a range of three notes. Quavers and the trailing descent of the voice on the last note are characteristic.

Funerary Chants

Six chants intoned at different times during the night following a death were obtained in text at Pua Ma'u and will subsequently be published. The use of these is described in connection with death rites. (See Death.) The first of them, the *menavo-tupapa'u* (life breath of the dead body) is descriptive of making war, having reference perhaps to the seeking of a human victim for sacrifice for the dead chief. The picture of war-making may be symbolic, having reference to the agitation and confusion that reigned after the death of a chief, a necessary part of the mourning. This chant was intoned only in the rites for a chief. The next chant, the *puna-tohu*, has to do with the seeking of the coral that was used in connection with the treatment of the body. The *vai-hahae-tupapa'u* is built around references to the fresh water that was used for washing the body. The connection of the references in the two chants which follow this, the *tai-ka'anu* and the *fiufiu*, with the funerary rites is not so clear as in the first three. The last chant sung was the *aumeha*, the object of which appears to have been to release those assisting at the funerary rites from *tapu*.

The *kaheoko* was a sacred chant sung by the ceremonial priest as a part of the funerary rites of great men. (See Memorial Festivals.)

At the memorial feasts and on certain other occasions *uhaki* composed in honor of the dead were intoned in the *feia'u*, or shrine, that was erected at the sacred place in connection with rites. The example that I have recounts the prowess in war of the man for whom it was sung. It is spoken of as a weeping chant (*he ue*). The melody, intoned by men and women singing in unison, is slow. Every other line was tapered off into the conventional weeping described in connection with mourning: thus, the second line was continued with the sobbing throat sound intoned on the sound *i;* the fourth line was continued in like manner on the sound *u;* and so on. Although men did not usually perform the weeping chant called *ue*, it is said that in this incorporation of it into the *uhaki* they sang it along with the women. The chant was accompanied by small drums (*tutu*).

The Uta Chant

There are two classes of *uta*—namely, simple love lyrics made up upon occasion, which were the songs most sung by the unmarried youths and maids, and the *uta tapu*, which were mourning chants. The words of both types were erotic. The latter type were handed down in families

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

the average European, had no singing of their own more advanced than the monotonous oli and mele which appear to be all that is remembered today. And the singularity becomes even more surprising, not to say incomprehensible, in view of the fact that it is beyond question that the Marquesans, Tahitians, Cook Islanders, Samoans and Tongans—all of whom were closely similar to the Hawaiians in other aspects of their culture—were singing in large groups when the first Europeans arrived among them. It appears certain that if it were possible to go back to the days when the hula organization was intact we should find that there were many occasions when the members, who were both singers and dancers, intoned meles, and probably other types of chants now forgotten, in chorus and probably in parts; that is, with melody and harmonization. But of more weight than this supposition is a bit of evidence which is based on definite knowledge that there was choral singing in the southern groups; and the personal opinion, based on several lines of evidence, that there was also part singing in these groups in pre-European times. David Malo,[2] in describing the elaborate rites performed in ancient times in Hawaii in connection with the consecration of the war temple (*luakini*), has written that at a certain stage in the consecration ceremonies, a service of "prayer" was carried on in the temple for two whole nights and days by a body of priests who had committed the "prayers" to memory. The kahunas were divided into two groups that occupied either side of the house in which the service was performed; and the service was carried on by the two groups alternately giving the recitation. Now all prayers in Polynesia were rhythmically intoned, for dynamic expression was considered essential to efficacy. When, therefore, Malo writes, or is translated as writing, that "a prayer was said," a more accurate sense of the meaning will be gained if we substitute "a prayer-spell was intoned, or chanted." Evidently this is an instance of the intonation of a religious chant by a choir of men in the temple service analogous to the intoning of the sacred chants at the temples and on the feast places by choirs of old men—who it is to be noted were called collectively *tuhuna* (kahuna)—in all rites in the Marquesas.

It is interesting to find mention in Captain King's account of Cook's[3] last and fatal visit to the Hawaiian islands of a group of dancers singing at a funeral; for dirges and eulogies were among the most prominent of the types of chants in Tonga, the Marquesas, and Cook Islands and doubtless elsewhere also. In Tonga the first missionaries who came on the ship "Duff" witnessed the funeral of one of the sacred chiefs of the

[2] Malo, David, Hawaiian antiquities: B. P. Bishop Mus. Sp. Pub. No. 2, pp. 225-6, 1903.
[3] Cook, James, A voyage to the Pacific Ocean, in the years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779 and 1780; vol. III, pp. 161, 166-7, London, 1785.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

X533 171 164

islands. In their description of the ceremonial performances they describe corps of women and of men as singing responsive chants as they bore material for the tomb of the divine potentate.[4] Gill[5] gives a more adequate description of the singing that was usual at the funerary feasts of the Cook Islanders. At these festivals dirges, or "weeping songs" (*tangi*), and eulogistic compositions were sung by those taking part. Songs were commenced by individuals who brought them as tributes or offerings to the dead, and were then caught up by a chorus and carried on. The dirges and eulogies, and the singing festivals and mode of performance, undoubtedly closely resembled the Marquesan chants and performances on the same occasions.

I can vouch for the fact that *tangi* are still remembered today for I heard one sung in Tahiti by a company of people from Atiu in the Cook Islands; and they sang also other types of songs, the names of which are mentioned by Gill, that were undoubtedly ancient. But these chants were intoned by a few of the older people from Atiu only after they had been persuaded with some difficulty that it was the old "heathen" songs that were wanted, and not the adapted hymns that are much more familiar today and more generally approved, and hence produced always when singing is asked for. On the basis of only two hearings I should say that singing of the Cook Islanders shows an interesting combination of quite distinct elements characteristic of the Marquesan and the Society Islands choruses. Male voices appear usually to commence and take the leading part as in the Marquesas, and the hearer has the same sense of strongly marked, rugged rhythm, contrasting with the more rapid, running Tahitian; and of a sort of heaviness or sluggishness in the voices and tempo. In range the Cook Islands songs resemble the Tahitian rather than the very restricted Marquesan. The rhythm of the Tahitian *himene*, in which the women rather than the men lead off and carry the melody, though they are vigorously supported and urged on by the men's voices which seem veritably to take hold of the melodic element and swing it along in a powerful dynamic impulsion, is quicker and more flexible than that of Marquesas or the Cook Islands, though at the same time it is very strong. These *himene* in Tahiti are probably the best known of the genuinely native performances in Polynesia. They are referred to as "genuinely native" in order to contrast them with the modern Hawaiian songs which, like most of the modern music in all parts of Polynesia, are based wholly on our own music which has been adapted in many very different and

X533 171

[4] Wilson, James, A missionary voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the ship "Duff," commanded by Captain James Wilson (pp. 235-246), London, 1799.

[5] Gill, W. W., Myths and songs from the South Seas (pp. 181 ff.), London, 1876.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

that were tapu and those that were not. Those learning tapu songs were under numerous restrictions; they were confined to their work, and all sorts of pleasures of common everyday life were denied them; and these prohibitions had to be strictly regarded, for delinquency on the part of a single member of the chorus was capable of destroying the efficacy of the whole work. In addition to the actual deprivations, there must have been at such times a sense of "living under a cloud"; being tapu must have carried with it for the members of the chorus, especially if they were in their youthful and ardent years, a strong feeling of what may be characterized as emotional and mental burden, a sense of oppression. But we may imagine a very different atmosphere when a chorus of youths and maids, unburdened by restrictions, gathered to learn or to sing a recreational song; when the mood of the singers was that of the "lover and his lass" for whom "life was but a flower," and the song must have gone, as in old England, "With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino."

The recreational chants, specimens of which are presented in this paper, are the *ru'u*, *nani*, and *tape'a*. In addition to these there are several other types that were much used in the old days. No informant was found who could or would sing any except those here presented, but examples of the verse of the *uta* song will be published in a collection of Marquesan lore.[1] There were *uta tapu*, and common *uta*. The *uta tapu* were distinctly religious chants with erotic words, which, handed down as family heirlooms, were sung at funeral feasts as tokens of affection for, to give pleasure to, and doubtless also to stimulate, the spirits of the departed. But common *uta* were mere love songs in which any boy or girl, or for that matter, any older man or woman, might express passion for one of the opposite sex. Words of such songs are very easily obtained; and it is beyond question that there is many a native who could sing them if caught in the right mood. Natural shyness and constraint would make it difficult for a native to sing one of these before any foreigner; and anyone who at all understands the Polynesian nature, or for that matter youthful and temperatmental human nature anywhere else in the world, must realize that it would hardly be possible for a Marquesan to sit down with a prodding ethnologist and in cold blood produce a sample of the type of song that is but the spontaneous expression in music and poetry of an impassioned soul.

Another type of recreational song that was very popular in the old days was the *komumu*, or *mumu*. The peculiar feature of this chant was its accompaniment. Each singer in the body of men and women who performed the *komumu* held in the left hand a stick of soft, resonant wood.

[1] Handy, E. S. Craighill, B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. in preparation.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

formed that every line had its meaning, and gave to the bearer certain privileges at their feasts. This practice of tattooing sometimes occasions sores which fester, and are several weeks before they heal; it however never produces any serious consequences, or leaves any scars behind. 304

Their implements for the manufacture of cloths consist only of a beater and a smooth log. They are both of that kind of hard wood of which the war clubs are made. The beater is about eighteen inches in length, one end of which is rounded for the handle, the rest is squared, and slightly grooved the length of the square. The whole operation of making the cloth consists in beating the bark out on the log to the size required, keeping it wet and gently stretched with one hand, while the other is employed with the beater. This employment is left to the old women, who will make three outer garments or cahoos in the course of a day. The cloth is remarkably neat and regular, nearly as strong as fine cotton or linen, but will not bear washing more than once. It is worn about a week before washing; after being washed it is beat out again to give them a gloss and strength. Thus a woman, with moderate labour, will in one day make for herself outer garments to last her six weeks. If the garment should be torn in wearing, or by any accident, it is only necessary to wet the edges of the rent, and gently beat the parts together. They are entirely unacquainted with the use of the needle; this simple mode of repairing their dresses does not require it, nor is it requisite in their formation, as each part of their clothing consists of square pieces. 287 296

Their coffins are dug out of a solid piece of white wood, in the manner of a trough; the size is just sufficient to cram the body in, and it is polished and otherwise finished in a style which proves they pay great respect to the remains of their friends. When a person dies, the body is deposited in a coffin, and a stage erected, either in a house vacated for the purpose, in which the coffin is placed, or a small house of sufficient size to contain the coffin is built in front of a *tabbooed* house, on the platform of stones, in which the coffin is deposited. The former is practised with the bodies of women, the latter with those of men; guardians are appointed to sleep near and protect them. When the flesh is mouldered from the bones, they are, as I have been informed, carefully cleansed: some are kept for relics, and some are deposited in the morais. 764

Their fans, of which they are very careful, are made with surprising neatness, and consist of a curious piece of mat work, of a semi-circular form, attached to a handle, generally representing four figures of their gods, two above and two below, squatting back to back. The fans are made of a stiff kind of grass, or 293

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

concerning the customs and manners of the country, and found that she felt her consequence in its full extent. 1804. May.

Having distributed scissars, knives, looking-glasses, and other trifles amongst this royal group, we departed, to proceed to the house of our interpreter, and were introduced, on the way, to the king's grand-child, who is respected as a divinity by the islanders. The infant was exhibited by his uncle, who stood within the inclosure of the house. I expressed a desire that his little highness might be brought to me; but understanding that he was under the law of taboo, which would not permit him to leave the inclosure, I approached him, and presented him with a piece of white cloth. The royal family had accompanied us to this place, as well as the multitude; but of the latter, no one dared to pass within the prohibited boundary.

Our walk to the habitation of Roberts was extremely pleasant, as it extended along an eminence, from whence we had a beautiful view of our ships in the bay, and the plantations of the natives in the valleys. Though the house was not so large as many we had passed, it was well adorned on the outside with different kinds of fruit-trees, which afforded us, after our fatigue, a very acceptable repast. Being refreshed, we visited a burying-ground, which, I must confess, was by no means equal to my expectation. It contained but a few wooden statues, rudely carved, while cocoa-nut shells were strewed in such abundance on the ground, that we were greatly incommoded by them. Roberts informed us, that sacrifices to the dead consisted here of cocoa-nuts; and I observed one quite fresh, on the head of a statue, that was erected over a grave. I observed also the

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. remains of a dead body, exposed on a simple board, supported by poles, under a roof of leaves. A considerable period must have elapsed since the body was placed there, as the skeleton only remained. The most pleasing sight in the burying-ground was a kind of monument lately erected to one of their deceased priests. It was constructed in a very handsome manner, was ornamented exteriorly with green leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, and had an altar within, of by no means a savage appearance.

Having satisfied our curiosity in this melancholy place, we returned to our ship by a road, on which stood many houses; but they all so nearly resembled the king's, though some were larger, that it is not necessary to describe them. The crowd that accompanied us during our stay on shore offered us various articles in the way of exchange, and behaved in so fair and friendly a manner, that I thought these islanders incapable of dishonesty. My ideas, however, were soon changed; for, on arriving at the boats, I found that one of our grapplings had been cut away under water, and carried off in so dextrous a manner, that neither the quarter-master nor the bargemen could conceive how it had disappeared. In this wily business they must have employed the knives we had distributed among them; showing us thereby that they well knew how preferable our instruments, made of iron, were to theirs, made of stone or shells.

Soon after my arrival on board, the king returned my visit, and brought with him a pig, and a stone axe, in exchange for two of my iron axes. As we were just going to dinner, I invited his majesty to partake of it. Of our several dishes he preferred that of pancakes with honey, which he relished so much, that

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

murder, had no punishment but what personal revenge might dictate. As to religion, though there are priests amongst them, we never perceived the least signs of worship. When any person dies, the corpse is immediately washed, and exposed on a plank in the middle of the house, and his relations and friends assemble to mourn over him; on which occasion they weep bitterly, and scratch their bodies with sharp bones, or shells. Sometimes this attendance on the dead is a scene of crying and laughing alternately; these different emotions immediately following each other, as I have often witnessed, in savages. For instance, on my firing a gun, though it terrified them almost to death, a burst of laughter almost instantaneously succeeded their fright. The ceremony of washing and weeping being over, the body is carried to the burying-ground, where it is exposed on a wooden platform, and left to waste away in the open air. In war, the bodies of the dead are always buried, for fear of their falling into the hands of the enemy; nothing being so humiliating to a Marquesan, as to see a scull of one of his party tied to the foot of an individual of an adverse party, who shows his triumph in this manner, if he obtains one in any way. 1804. May.

The most barbarous honours are paid here to priests, on their decease. Roberts assured me, that, on the death of a priest, three men must be sacrificed; two of whom are hung up in the burying-ground, while the third is cut to pieces, and eaten by visitors; all but the head, which is placed upon one of the idols. When the flesh of the first two are wasted away, the bones that remain are burnt. The custom of the country requires, that the men destined for sacrifice should belong to some neigh-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Round wooden bowls (Pl. LIX, *F*) are still in use in all native households. The larger bowls are called *pora*, the smaller *ipo* or *tahake*.

In bowls of ordinary sizes the form is that of a segment of a sphere, but this is somewhat modified in the case of the large feast bowls, which are rarely over nine inches deep, although they may have a diameter of over four feet. Flat bottoms, meeting the sides at an angle, appear to be unknown. In most large and many small specimens the sides have a slight external recurve at the rim, and in practically all round bowls the greatest width of the interior is a short distance below the rim. The rims are flat and relatively wide, meeting the inner and outer surfaces of the body at sharp angles. In most bowls the rim is horizontal, but in some the inner edge is considerably higher than the outer.

At least two types of very deep circular bowls were used in ancient times. One of these, called *kipo*, was used on the island of Nuku Hiva for *kava*. It was about ten inches tall and eight inches in diameter, and is said to have been provided with a small flat base (Handy, personal correspondence). In Hiva Oa a large, very deep bowl of *toa* or *nio* wood was sometimes used in the burial caves as a container for the skull of a chief or beloved relative. The practice was rare, however, and the description is based upon a single specimen found some years ago in a burial place. The original bowl was not seen as its finder had used it as a container for his wife's skull, but according to natives who had handled it, it was elaborately carved and had the form of the deep Hawaiian *umeke* (8, *a*, p. 161 and fig. 142).

A description of a special type of small circular container, called *hue po'o* was obtained in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, by Handy.

This container was provided with a lid having a knob handle in which there was a cavity much like the sponge container of a modern humidor. Human flesh was packed into the cavity, and as it decayed the juice dripped down into the bowl below. The fluid was wiped out from time to time with green taro leaves and eaten as a delicacy. The object of the peculiar handle arrangement is said to have been to guard against the theft of the flesh. The container was provided with a long loop handle, probably like those used on coconut bowls, and was carried slung around the neck.

Many circular bowls were provided with fiber handles which were attached to one side and served for the suspension of the utensil when not in use. The simplest of these handles consisted of a loop of sennit passed through a hole below the rim of the bowl and held by a knot on the inside. In another simple form two holes were drilled, the loop being passed through both. The most characteristic handle attachment, which is still used on most well made bowls (Pl. LIX, D) is made as follows:

A hole is bored in the side of the vessel a short distance below the rim, care being taken not to pierce the inner wall. A second hole is then bored downward through the rim, meeting the first at right angles. A loop of cord, braided continuously or spliced at the ends, is then inserted in the lateral hole and fastened by a wooden plug driven downward through the vertical hole. The top of the plug is cut off flush with the rim. Handles of this sort were sometimes decorated by stringing upon the loop large seeds or pieces of carved bone.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
String records	Rare or absent	Common	Common
Wood carving	Inferior	Good	Good

Stone construction, ceremonial structures, sculpture and methods used for the disposal of the dead are reserved for detailed discussion in a report on Marquesan archaeology in preparation.

STONE CONSTRUCTION

	HIVA OA	NUKU HIVA	FATU HIVA
Rough Stone	Smaller stone, poorer construction	Large stone, good construction	Small stone, poor construction
Cut Stone	Rare except in ceremonial structures	Common in structures of all sorts	Rare even in ceremonial structures

CEREMONIAL STRUCTURES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
Tohua	Large, surrounded by platforms	Smaller, platforms on one side only	Small, enclosed by wall, platform on one side only
Me'ae	Platforms like house platforms, small and simple	Many terraces and platforms, large and complex	Smaller than Hiva Oa but complex
Linking of Tohua and Me'ae	Absent	Constant	Constant

SCULPTURE

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
Wooden Images	Common	Common	Common
Stone Images	Rare	Common	Rare
Relief Carvings	Absent	Common	Rare or absent
Architectural Images	Very rare	Common	Rare or absent
Detached Heads	Very rare	Common	Rare or absent

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
Mummification in dwelling	Common	Rare	Normal
Mummification in separate house	Rare	Normal	Rare
Platform for embalming house	Absent	Common on s. side of island, rare on north	Rare
Coffin	Canoe shaped with wood cover	Trough shaped with cover of poles	Trough shaped with cover of poles
Tree burial	Common	Rare	Rare

Except for stone construction, ceremonial structures and sculpture the local differences now ascertainable within the Marquesas are so slight that little can be deduced from them; but they appear to point to a higher development of carving in the southern islands of the group and of stone construction in the northern islands. The blending of these two influences in Hiva Oa produced the high development of stone sculpture on that island.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6
Memoirs Bernice P. Bishop Museum
171
324
393
592
.764

COMPARATIVE TABLE MATERIAL CULTURE—Continued

STONE CONSTRUCTION

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Eye	Broadly oval to round, encircled by raised rim; straight or with slight upward slant	Narrow pointed oval, pronounced upward slant	Narrow pointed oval, pronounced upward slant; also straight eyes (less common)	Pointed oval encircled by raised rim; eye sometimes omitted	———	———
Brows	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched or straight	———	———
Rough stone	Highly developed, wall terrace and platform	A few extensive structures, little or no stone construction in recent times	Highly developed, wall, terrace and platform	Well developed, wall, terrace and platform	Moderate development, wall and platforms. Large ancient structures	Moderate or poor development, wall and platform
Cut stone	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face terraces or platforms	Not used	Rare, rectangular slabs set on edge to face terraces or platforms	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face platforms, conical forms	Pale o le Fe'a only; stone posts	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face platforms and trilithon

MORTUARY PRACTISES

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Mummification	Normal; evisceration by anus and rubbing with coconut oil; in dwelling or special house	Rare in historic times; evisceration by anus, rubbing with oil and smoking, special house	Not practised, temporary preservation by filling body with salt or by varnishing	Normal, evisceration thru incision and rubbing with coconut oil; in special house, anciently in dwelling	Practised by one family only; method like Society Islands	Not practised
Earth burial	Rare, limited to priests and diseased or insane; flexed position (?)	Rare, usually limited to slaves; flexed position	Lower chiefs, some priests, commoners; chiefs and priests extended, commoners usually flexed	Limited to lowest class, flexed position	Normal, extended position	Normal, extended position
Body kept until disintegration	Normal	Normal	Rare; decay hastened by burial and fire	Normal	One family only (see mummification)	Not practised
Disposal of bones	Placed in cave or sacred place; skulls of chiefs preserved	Placed in cave or hollow tree; heads of chiefs sometimes preserved	Kept in dwelling, in special house or in sacred place or placed in caves	Skulls preserved, house buried in sacred place or put in cave	Skulls of chiefs sometimes kept	———
Vaults	Priests only, form of vault unknown	Not used	Vaults in platforms, priests and lower chiefs (?)	Not used	Rare if present	Stone vaults in mounds (langi) used by all chiefs

[191]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants make no mention of the badges described

by early visitors, such as the *mata-komoe* distinguishing a hero (10, Pl. VIII, fig. 9; p. xv), the marks of high birth put upon the arms of women in families of chiefs (18, p. 222-223), the tattooed right hand and left foot of women as a sign of wedlock (13, p. 221-222). Mr. Linton was told that only chiefs had their feet tattooed; but this is not borne out in the late practice of the art nor corroborated by other informants. The confusion probably arises either from the distinguishing chiefly marks being upon the ankle, or from the custom of tattooing the body of the *opou* from the feet up, contrary-wise to that of the *ka'ioi*.

The only distinguishing feature of the tattooing of a *ka'ioi*, as reported today, is the order in which the designs were put on, the face being decorated first. The reason assigned by a Pua Ma'u informant for the custom of beginning with the feet of the *opou* was that the face if tattooed first was liable to become infected and cause a stoppage of the operation. It is possible that the reverse order in the case of the *ka'ioi* was the result of indifference as to their fortunes, but it is also possible that there was here a fundamental class distinction. There is no proof today that the work was not of the same pattern as that of the *opou*, though Melville thought he distinguished a difference in the quality of the work put upon "inferior natives," their designs appearing to him like daubs of a house-painter's brush (13, p. 250).

Berchon says that tattooing was an obligation rather than a mark of distinction for women, that the right hand must be tattooed by the age of twelve so that it might be used in making *popoi*, in making *pakoko* (the circular movement of two fingers in taking up *popoi* to eat it) and in rubbing dead bodies with coconut oil (1, p. 114-115). Natives today say that an untattooed hand could not make *popoi* nor eat it from the same bowl as a tattooed hand, that a tattooed man could not eat with a woman, and that a man with all his designs finished could not eat with a man whose designs were unfinished; but any reason for these requisites beyond their being "pretty" is unknown. Women would not marry untattooed men, probably because the decoration represented either wealth, endurance of pain, style, or all three.

A special effort was made to find some trace of banqueting societies distinguished by marks tattooed on the chest, which Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and Melville[1] describe (8, p. 159-160; 10, p. 121-122; 12, p. 50-51); but no memory of anything in the nature of such fraternal orders supported by the chief and tattooed gratis is discoverable today. With Berchon's con-

[1] All of the detailed information of Krusenstern and Langsdorff came from two white sailors living among the natives, whose accounts are in many instances unmistakably erroneous and exaggerated. It would not surprise me in the least if

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

619 344 exhibition of food; all around this was a series of platforms which were assigned to the various classes of the population as grandstands. Attached to the regular *tohua* would be, first, the altar platform, which was the seat of the ancestral gods; then a seat for the chief and his immediate family, and after that the platform for the priests, that for the *tuhunga,* and that of the warriors, a large affair having a permanent house which was taboo for women; lastly, there were a platform for women and children, and a big platform for visiting members of other tribes. A new *tohua* was usually built for the eldest son of the chief, an act which raised the status of the chief's family and the tribe.

619 778 [782 784] The tribe also had one or more sacred places in the hills which were used for human sacrifices and for the final disposal of the dead. There were also the sacred place of the fishermen and the great food pits. All this property belonged to the tribe, the fact of tribal membership entitling anyone to its use.

The Household

592 595 The Marquesan household was polyandrous, there being usually two or three men to one woman, while in the household of the chief there might be eleven or twelve men to three or four women, one head wife and subsidiary wives. Well-to-do households would usually add one or even two wives to the establishment some years after the initial marriage of the household head. All members of such a group had sexual rights in each other, the arrangement constituting a sort of group marriage. A chief or head of a rich family would sometimes arrange a marriage with a young woman because she had three or four lovers whom he wished to attach. The men would follow the woman; in this way the family head could build up the man power of his household. Only the poorest households at the lower social levels were monogamous, and there was much envy of rich households by poor ones.

592 Household, rather than family, is the proper term for the basic social unit of Marquesan society. Households were graded

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

victorious with several captives. The power of the deified chief was thus established and he was the god of the valley, speaking to his people through the mouth of his own inspirational priest.

An old man from the island of Ua Pou told me of another instance of the power of a deified chief, which he remembered from his youth. When the chief was old and knew that he must soon die, he said to his followers, "Soon I shall become a god; what do you desire that I do for you after I go to the sky world?" The people asked that he take away the *nonos,* a kind of sandfly which infested the island and caused much distress by its vicious bite. He observed that this would be difficult but that he would do his best. Soon after, the chief died but was not properly deified because the tribe was unable to obtain sufficient captives for the ceremony. The chief, however, overlooked this omission and went to work on the sandflies, so that within three months all the *nonos* had disappeared from the island. This chief is still the dominant deity of Ua Pou. I visited his tomb, a white-washed structure of concrete with a cross at one end and a carved stone image on the other.

The gods were almost all males. Theoretically, women could hold the highest rank, but in practice few women were actually household heads, rulers of tribes, or inspirational priests. In rare cases the eldest daughter of a chief would become chieftainess and rule in her own right, although as a rule the chief adopted a boy if his eldest child was a girl. Such a woman might be deified, but the most powerful deities were invariably male.

Those whose rank did not entitle them to a place in the sky world went to one of the three lower worlds. The lowest of these was the most desirable, while the highest one, the one immediately adjoining the world of living and therefore the easiest to reach, was highly unpleasant, dark and muddy and short of food. The world to which a man went depended on the number of pigs sacrificed at his memorial feast. Those for whom there was only one pig, or none at all, went to the poorest world. The head of the household of the dead person, some time before the memorial feast, went to each house in which

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

the head husband or head wife was a relative, recited his genealogy, and called upon the household to give him pigs. They were obligated to give him at least one on such occasions. The number of pigs a man could collect was an indication of the extent of his family connections and the wealth of his family line. He would then bring all the pigs back, and the household would fatten them for six or eight months, scrimping on their own food in order to increase the size of the pigs. Several families would do this simultaneously. Finally the great feast would be held, with the eldest children of the related households as the official sponsors and donors of the pigs. The pigs were killed, roasted, and laid out on banana leaves so that all could feast their eyes and observe how many animals had been offered, the number of pigs fixing the individual's status. The pigs were apportioned by the head ceremonial priest or sometimes by the chief.

There was no particular fear of the dead in the flesh and very little fear of ghosts. The Marquesans took it for granted that the members of one's family were lingering about the dwelling after death but intended no harm. The living spoke of ghosts with the greatest casualness; they were constantly seeing and hearing them. Any peculiar or unexplained noise would be attributed to the ghosts and considered of no importance.

Bodies of the dead were mummified and kept in the dwelling or in the sacred place until preparations for the memorial feast were complete, an indeterminate length of time. The outer skin of the cadavers was rubbed off with rough coral, thimbles of skin being left on the ends of the fingers, which were pulled back over the nails—a device also used by the Egyptians. The body was eviscerated through the anus and through incisions in the skin, then rubbed with cocoanut oil day after day until it finally dried up and achieved a fair degree of mummification. Small children were not mummified but women were accorded just as careful treatment as men.

In the island of Nuku Hiva, this mummification was carried on in a separate house built on a high stone platform; but in

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

764 the southern islands, the process was carried on right in the house, with the daily life of the family going on around the corpse, which lay upon a bier. The family would carry the body out into the sun and rub it down with oil, then carry it back into the house when the sun went down. When mummification was fairly complete, they dressed the body in its best clothes and seated it in a squatting position with the arms crossed and the chin on the knees. They held it in place with wooden supports and kept it sitting so in the most honored section of the house until after the memorial ceremony. The remains, usually in a fairly disreputable condition by this time, were then taken to the shrine of the tribal gods and turned over to the ceremonial priests for final disposition. No one but the priests knew what really became of these bodies. An old man who had been an assistant to a ceremonial priest told me that he had helped to carry the bodies away but was never permitted to be present at the final disposal. The heads were often removed and saved, and also a few of the long bones would be selected to be worked up into ornaments for relatives of the deceased as pleasant mementos.

769 The skulls of the chiefs were kept in the temple and brought
778 out from time to time to adorn the prows of the war canoes to give them *mana*, or were exposed in the fishing house to aid in bringing a favorable catch. Skulls of family heads were returned to the household, where they were kept in the family shrine—either a small house outside, associated with the death house, or a curtained-off end of the dwelling with shelves. Sometimes faces of bark cloth were built upon the skulls and painted with the personal tattooing of the individual.

778 Each tribe had one or more sacred places hidden far back
784 in the hills. These places were taboo to most men and to all
152 but the few highest ranking women of the tribe. The power of this taboo was demonstrated to me by a strange experience. A man of about fifty-two or three had volunteered to take me to one of these sacred places, the central shrine for one of the two big divisions of the tribes on the island of Hiva Oa. The man